

## Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY NEA/ARN:MDRAPER:BDF  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OSLO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MILI, PORG, UNSC, LE, IS

SUBJECT: SOUTH LEBANON: NEXT STEPS

REF: TEL AVIV 9718 (NOTAL); JERUSALEM 2090 (NOTAL);  
BEIRUT 4382 (NOTAL)

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1. LEBANESE UN AMBASSADOR TUEINI PHONED WALDHEIM TODAY,  
WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED, TO EXPRESS DEEP CONCERN OVER SOUTH  
LEBANON SITUATION, TO EXPLORE WILLINGNESS OF WALDHEIM TO  
INVOLVE HIMSELF, AND TO EXPRESS LEBANON'S WILLINGNESS TO  
CONVENE SC. TUEINI'S CALL SUGGESTS THAT LEBANESE MAY BE  
BECOMING DESPERATE. THIS COULD HERALD COMING DIRECTION OF  
EVENTS, SINCE LEBANON MIGHT WANT TO CALL FOR "INFORMAL

CONSULTATIONS" OR EVEN FORMAL MEETING OF SC.

2. SOME CLARIFICATIONS HAVE EMERGED IN TELEPHONE CALLS TODAY WITH BEIRUT, TEL AVIV AND JERUSALEM. THIS MESSAGE IS, THEREFORE, A SUMMING-UP CABLE WHICH ALSO PROVIDES GUIDELINES.

3. FOR AMBASSADOR PARKER: AT YOUR MEETING TOMORROW MORNING WITH LEBANESE, AND IDEALLY PRIOR TO HEARING WHAT-EVER DECISIONS THEY MAY HAVE REACHED, YOU SHOULD REITERATE OUR POSITION THAT THE OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE AT THIS POINT IS TO GET THE LEBANESE ARMY UNIT INSERTED SAFELY INTO TIBNIN. WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE IF THE LEBANESE AGREE TO SEND INDIVIDUAL GROUPS FROM THIS UNIT ONE BY ONE, AND TO AGREE NOT TO LEAVE BEHIND ELEMENTS IN THE THREE ENCLAVES MENTIONED BY WEIZMAN IN TEL AVIV 9718. ISRAELI INSISTENCE THAT SYRIAN "COMPANY" RETURN TO RED LINE HAS ALREADY BEEN TAKEN CARE OF THROUGH UNCOVERING OF THE TRUE FACTS.

4. THEN EXPLAIN TO LEBANESE THE POINT MADE BY WEIZMAN IN TEL AVIV 9718, TO THE EFFECT THAT NO ATTEMPTS BE MADE TO UNDERMINE HADDAD OR TO RELIEVE HIM AT THIS POINT. EMBASSY TEL AVIV STRESSES THE PHRASE "AT THIS POINT" SHOULD BE UNDERLINED. WEIZMAN HAS NOT RULED OUT POSSIBILITY OF A RESOLUTION TO THE HADDAD PROBLEM, BUT IN EMBASSY  
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TEL AVIV'S JUDGMENT THERE IS NO WAY THE U.S. COULD PREVAIL UPON THE ISRAELIS TO GO ALONG WITH A LEBANESE DISMISSAL OF HADDAD SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE MOVEMENT OF THE LEBANESE ARMY UNITS THROUGH THE BOTTLENECK INTO TIBNIN. IT IS ALSO TEL AVIV'S VIEW THAT THE ISRAELIS MIGHT BE PREVAILED UPON NOT TO MAKE AN ISSUE OF HADDAD AT THIS TIME IF THE LEBANESE AGREED NOT TO MAKE AN ISSUE OF IT.

5. IN ADDITION, EMBASSY TEL AVIV BELIEVES THE CONDITION REPORTED PARA 9 OF TEL AVIV 9718 RE HADDAD'S BEING RE-INSTATED IN THE ARMY COMMAND, AND POSSIBLY REPEATED THIS MORNING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, COULD POSSIBLY BE IGNORED. IN SHORT, EMBASSY TEL AVIV FEELS THERE IS A CHANCE WEIZMAN AND COMPANY CAN BE PREVAILED UPON TO SAY NOTHING FURTHER ABOUT HADDAD, REINSTATEMENT, UNDERMINING, ETC. IF THE LEBANESE THEMSELVES DO NOT MAKE IT AN ISSUE NOW RPT NOW.

6. THIS WILL BE A HARD CAT TO BELL BUT WE SUGGEST YOU PUT FORWARD THIS BASIC LINE:

-- AUTHORIZE THE UNIT COMMANDER, COL. SAAD, TO HAVE

UNIFIL EMISSARY (E.G., COL. RANA, WHO HAS PERFORMED SUPERBLY IN LEBANON, WINNING CONFIDENCE OF CHRISTIAN MILITIAS, VILLAGE HEADMEN AND INHABITANTS GENERALLY) TO COMMENCE NEGOTIATIONS FOR PASSAGE.

-- HAVE UNIFIL PUT FORWARD NO PROPOSALS RE HADDAD'S FUTURE AND MAKE SURE UNIFIL EMISSARY-NEGOTIATOR DOES NOT ACCEPT FOR TRANSMISSION ANY HADDAD CONDITIONS RE HIS FUTURE, BUT ONLY DETAILS ABOUT THE MECHANICS OF THE MOVEMENT.

-- AFTER LEBANESE UNIT IS IN TIBNIN, AND AFTER SEEING SITUATION ON THE GROUND, INCLUDING ATTITUDE OF INHABITANTS OF AREA, IT SHOULD THEN BE POSSIBLE FOR LEBANESE TO CARRY

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OUT SOME SATISFACTORY FORMULAS. TO SUM UP, OUR VIEW IS THAT NOTHING CAN BE DONE WHILE ARMY UNIT IS STUCK AT KAWKABA.

7. PLEASE FLASH RESULTS OF YOUR MEETING TO TEL AVIV AND JERUSALEM. AS FOR TUEINI'S INITIATIVE REPORTED ABOVE, PLEASE ASK THE LEBANESE TO HOLD OFF TAKING ANY MAJOR STEPS WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNTIL WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO CONSULT FURTHER.

8. FOR AMBASSADOR LEWIS: IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF AMBASSADOR PARKER'S REPORTING CABLE, YOU SHOULD CONVEY TO THE ISRAELIS THE LEBANESE POSITION IF IT IS ALONG THE LINES AS SUGGESTED ABOVE OR SEEMS HEADED IN THAT DIRECTION. IF NOT, PLEASE WAIT FOR DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS.

9. YOU SHOULD, IF LEBANESE POSITION IS HALF-WAY PROMISING, URGE IN THE STRONGEST TERMS ISRAELI COOPERATION. WHILE THERE MAY BE SOMETHING IN THE ASSESSMENT THAT THE LEBANESE DO NOT KNOW HOW TO HANDLE HADDAD, THE ISRAELIS CANNOT MAKE THIS ARGUMENT FOR THEMSELVES. THEY HAVE IN OUR VIEW ALL THE LEVERAGE NECESSARY TO ASSURE HADDAD'S COOPERATION WITH THE LEBANESE ARMY MOVEMENT INTO TIBNIN.

10. YOU SHOULD ALSO SHARE WITH THE ISRAELIS NEWS OF THE TUEINI INITIATIVE ABOVE AND OUR ASSESSMENT THAT ANY SECURITY COUNCIL EXAMINATION OF THE SOUTH LEBANESE SITUATION--IN A FORMAL MEETING OR IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS--WILL TEND TO PUT ISRAEL IN AN EXTREMELY BAD LIGHT. THE ISRAELI POSITIONS ON THE GOOD FENCE, SUPPLYING OF ARMS TO THE MILITIAS, AND WHAT WILL BE SEEN AS OBSTRUCTIONISM BY ISRAEL OF A SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT'S RIGHT TO TRY TO ASSERT ITS AUTHORITY OVER ITS OWN TERRITORY AND OVER ITS  
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OWN MILITARY OFFICERS ARE SURE TO BE EXPOSED AND VENTILATED IN THE MOST NEGATIVE WAY POSSIBLE. ISRAEL WOULD BE PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE TO THE CHARGE OF OBSTRUCTING SC RESOLUTION 425 AND ITS OBJECTIVE OF ASSISTING THE LEBANESE TO RE-ESTABLISH GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY IN SOUTH LEBANON.

11. FOR JERUSALEM AND USUN: PLEASE KEEP UN APPROPRIATELY INFORMED OF THRUST OUR VIEWS.

12. JERUSALEM 2093, JUST RECEIVED, OUTLINES CONCEPT IDENTICAL TO OURS ABOVE. WHILE AWAITING AMBASSADOR PARKER'S REPORT OF RESULTS HIS EFFORTS WITH LEBANESE, USUN SHOULD THEREFORE SET STAGE FOR SENDING NECESSARY INSTRUCTIONS TO ERSKINE.

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